1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

THE LIFE CYCLE. I. BIRTH TO ADOLESCENCE

PREGNANCY CUSTOMS

As is frequently the case in primitive patrilineal societies, Mapuche wives are anxious to bear offspring, and boys are particularly desired. There is no failure to associate pregnancy with sexual intercourse, but supernatural agents may be invoked to help bring about fertilization. On rare occasions an elderly woman, presumably past childbearing, claims to have become pregnant without copulation. In such cases she attributes her condition to a vision, *perimontu*, in which a fantastic and supposedly supernatural beast possessed her. If her child is born alive, it is allowed to die for fear that it will develop into a monster. J. M. Collío, who told me of this belief, went on to say that a young woman would be laughed at if she claimed to have become pregnant without having had sexual relations.

Barren women consult a female shaman, *machi*, who specializes in such matters. Treatment usually includes drinking the blood of a sacrificed sheep or other animal and swallowing a concoction made from a plant called *wakachu* ("maize grass").[1] Sterility is regarded as incurable if the *machi* decides that it is witch caused, in which case, in Collío's words, "there is nothing to be done but to allow the husband to take another woman."

In some instances a woman who is eager to have a son, whether or not she is already pregnant, may wear the silver figure of a warrior, *aukafe wentru adentu* ("war-man-image"), attached to her breast ornament, *trapelakucha*. In other cases such a woman may suck a little milk from the breast of a relative who is nursing a male child, or else she may seek permission to eat from the same dish with a man who has recently become the father of a son.

In a general sense babies are supposed to come from the sky,

[1] *Wakachu* may also be known as *malumraki*, which Augusta (1916, I: 244) identified as *Paspalum vaginatum* Sw.; family Gramineae.

842 [775] *wenamapu* ("high land"). This is also one of the regions to which go the spirits of the dead, but no explicit connection is made between the two sets of ideas. It is the moon which, because of its supposed control of catamenia, is looked upon as the special god of children. When she wants a woman to become pregnant, she causes her menses to stop.[2] There is also a belief in an amorphous spirit of fertility, *choyülchefe*, which controls germination and reproduction in all living things. Together with a feminine counterpart, *choyülchefe* is supposed to dwell in bodies of water such as springs, pools, or cataracts. He is also associated with bees, which return in force each season when germination reaches a peak. *Choyülchefe* is not represented in any concrete form and is not the object of prayers for fertility.

841 An ambivalent attitude exists toward sexual relations during menstruation. Such relations are forbidden on the grounds that both parties will be subject to disease; yet intercourse at these times, it is thought, will very likely result in impregnation. [833 912] There is also a belief that women who regularly enjoy orgasms are more likely to have offspring.

847 755 278 Although children are usually greatly desired, there are special situations wherein pregnant women prefer to have abortions. Most frequently these cases involve unwed girls whose lovers refuse to marry them. If enough hard feeling has been aroused, such a girl may resort to a *machi*. The *machi* gives her a strong infusion of cinnamon bark, the bark of the *pucha* tree,[3] and a plant called *tropa* or *trupa*,[4] which is commonly known as devil's tobacco, and which was, in point of fact, formerly smoked by the Araucanians. If this potion proves too strong for the patient, she is given an antidote of *chillko* 847 ("fuchsia"), and a kind of ginger (Spanish, *maqui;* Mapuche, *Kul-on*).

[2] Cf. Latcham, 1924, p. 626. Latcham, 1909, p. 347, described the moon as the wife of the sun.

[3] The Spanish term is *patagua*, which Augusta (1916, I: 172), identified as *Myrceugenia pitra* Berg, family Myrtaceae.

[4] Identified by Augusta (*op. cit.*, pp. 236–37) as *Lobelia tupa* L., family Campanulaceae.

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841 754 not from indifference but rather from the fear that a woman can be easily bewitched if an enemy gets hold of some of the discharge.

841 538 There is a simple folk tale that is supposed to explain the origin of catamenia. A long time ago, a young woman went out in the dark to urinate against the slope of a hill. Just then the moon rose and saw her vagina. The moon regarded this as a lack of respect and punished her by causing her to menstruate every twenty eight days. The term for menstruation is *pekŭyen·n*, "caught by the moon," *kŭyen·*, and the phases of the moon are figuratively likened to a woman's life cycle. Thus, a new moon is a virgin, a full moon a pregnant female, and a [842] waning moon is a sterile old woman.[20] The close connection thought to exist between the moon and fertility helps to explain why intercourse with a menstruant is supposed to be likely to cause pregnancy.

[20] Cf. Latcham, 1924, p. 626.

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833 takes place in the conventional position, and the male reaches a climax without thought of bringing his partner to an orgasm, [842] even if he is aware of this aspect of feminine physiology. There is no record of the use of contraceptives and, except for married couples, intercourse generally takes place outdoors. Some care [837] is taken to achieve privacy, but little shame or guilt attends discovery, except in cases of adultery.

836 Trouble is likely to result from love affairs, primarily because 847 men regard them as ends in themselves, whereas women tend [584] to consider them as preludes to marriage. Lovers take advantage of this attitude to promise marriage to any girl they 754 court, but these promises are repeatedly broken. Not much can be done in such an event unless the girl becomes pregnant. She may then seek help from her lover's mother and, if the latter wants her as a daughter-in-law, she may urge her son to marry. If a pregnant girl finds herself repudiated by her sweetheart she may, in extreme cases, commit suicide, or else she may seek vengeance by asking a *machi* to perform the *koftun*.[4] *Koftun* is designed to render the guilty man impotent or sterile, but it requires the sacrifice of the baby which is either aborted or strangled at birth by the *machi*. The infant's ovaries or testicles are cut out and slowly burnt, while the *machi* dances about the fire, praying that the offender may become emasculated.

Koftun may also be performed against a girl who refuses to marry her lover. Revenge may then be taken by his mother who, by one device or another, gets some of the girl's menstrual blood. She dries it and either inserts it into the victim's food, or puts it into a fire to be consumed. In either event the girl is supposed to sicken, die, or lose her sexual powers.

582 Mr. Donaldson knew of instances in which a couple lived together before marrying as a kind of fertility test. In cases of this sort, marriage is supposed to follow as soon as pregnancy has occurred. Here again, some men fail to live up to their promises and brazenly refuse to marry or they go to Argentina.

[4] Cf. Augusta, 1916, I: 91; and Cooper, 1946, p. 733.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

feast, in more recent times at least, a white lamb was sacrificed, some of its blood sprinkled in the four cardinal directions, and the rest poured into a hole in the ground where the severed umbilical cord was deposited. South of Toltén, a tree was planted at the name-giving feast of a male child. The name of a female child could not be mentioned lest she die. (On kuga names, see supra under Kinship, p. 723.)

Two types of cradle were used (fig. 78): a portable one, of two longitudinal arms connected with boards or else a netted frame, with bow; and a swinging "hammock" type (illustrated in: Smith, 1855, p. 213; Latcham, 1909, pls. 34–35; cf. Moesbach, 1936, pp. 186–88 for description).

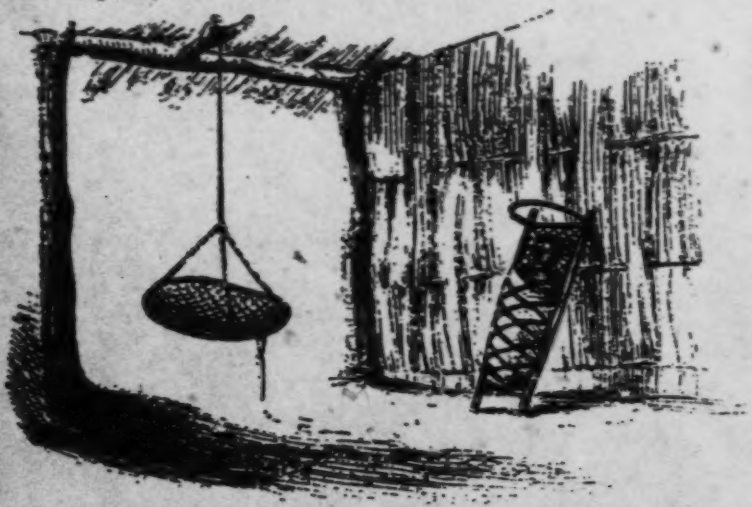

FIGURE 78.—*Mapuche* cradles. (After Smith, 1855, p. 213.)

After childbirth, cohabitation of husband with wife was not resumed until weaning, which did not take place until all the child's teeth were cut (Latcham, 1909, p. 360), or until a year after birth or, if the child was weak, 18 months or more (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 713).

Both abortion and infanticide occurred, but how commonly is not clear. Gusinde (1936, passim) lists about a dozen different plant abortifacients. Deformed offspring and one of twins were done away with, by being thrown into the water or suffocated with mud (Guevara Silva, 1929, 2:241–42; 1908, p. 222). Félix José (1916, 1:91) lists the verb koftun, meaning to kill an infant and roast its testicles in a heated pot, as done sometimes by an unmarried mother to avenge herself on her unfaithful lover—so making him impotent (Guevara Silva, 1908, p. 222; 1929, 2:242). The present writer has come across no specific mention of contraceptive practices; apparently in recent

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

842 times they were disapproved, to judge from a somewhat vague reference in Housse (1939, p. 249).

868 866 **Education.**—Two poles 10 to 13 feet (3 to 4 m.) long attached horizontally and parallel about 1 foot (30 cm.) apart to four upright stakes about 2 feet (0.5 m.) high were used as a device to help the infant learn to walk (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 714). As means of physical hardening, boys had to sleep and eat outside the hut, to bathe daily from infancy, to abstain from meat, fish, and salt, and to eat chiefly grain and "light" foods; their legs and feet were scarified to help them run swiftly. (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:118, 167; Manquilef, 1914, pp. 263–64; Gusinde, 1916–17, pp. 205–13.) They were early trained to arms, swimming, and horsemanship. They were rarely chastised, lest they should grow up base and cowardly, and they were praised for insolence. They accompanied their fathers to drinking feasts, and the latter were well pleased with their sons' drinking and amours thereat (Olivares, 1864, p. 61).

[262 304] 861 In more recent times at least, beginning with his 7th year, a boy was given counsel and instruction every evening by his grandfather; at the age of about 11 he had to make a formal visit to the cacique to give proof of his knowledge of etiquette; and at the age of 16 to give a demonstration of his oratorical ability (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, pp. 1055–56). Stories with a moral were used to educate children (Housse, 1939, pp. 267–78). In recent times too, ground *Datura stramonium* seeds were fed to disobedient and incorrigible children to mildly narcotize them, in which state they were then lectured (Gusinde, 1936, p. 855).

[276] [881] No puberty rites or observances proper are reported for either boys or girls. (Cf., however, infra, Argentine *Araucanians*, p. 757.)

761 **Death and burial.**—If we may take our sources literally, death in all cases, even from accident or old age, was attributed to other than natural causes, viz., to sorcery or to evil spirits excepting only death from wounds. Suicide occurred but was not common: Bascuñan (1863, p. 70) mentions warriors captured by Spaniards, and Moesbach (1936, p. 241) girls forced to marry against their wills, as having sometimes resorted to it.

762 764 The rites and observances connected with death and mourning were complex and differed somewhat according to period, to region, and to rank, status, sex, and age of the deceased. The chief ones, not all of them carried out in all cases, were the following: Repeated ceremonial wailing; tearing out of hair by females, and sometimes (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 187) rending of clothing; circling the corpse afoot or on horseback with great clamor (the awn, or awün rite) to honor the deceased, and also, it appears, to drive away evil spirits and to prevent sorcerers from capturing for evil purposes the soul of the deceased; calling in the shaman to discover, through examination of

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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of a certain locality, in which case "the Huilliche are the people in the south around Osorno and still farther south; the Picunche are around Puerto Saavedra, to the north; the Pehuenche are east of here, east of Alepúe, in the Cordillera [Andean highlands]; the Puelche are in Argentina; the Mapuche are here [Alepúe] and in Toltén, Panguipulli, and Boroa. But all these people are Mapuche. They speak Araucanian dialects, but all can understand each other except for distinctly different words for the same things; we must learn these words." "We people here in Panguipulli," said an informant from that area, "are Pehuenche because we live in the Cordillera not far from where the araucarias grow, and we are related to the Argentine tribes; but we are Mapuche." To quote a Boroa area informant, "When we speak of the Pehuenche among ourselves we mean the Mapuche that live up there in the Cordillera where the araucarias grow. They live up there, and also across from there in the Argentine where the araucarias also grow."

Informants in any one area of Chile covered in the present study when speaking of Araucanians in the other areas called those of Alepúe area on the Coastal Range the Mapuche of the Coast; those in Panguipulli and Coñaripe areas, the Mapuche of the Cordillera; and those in Boroa area, the Mapuche of the Plains. I use the term "Araucanian" for all areas, but in quoting informants I use the word "Mapuche."

Culturally the Chilean Araucanians were an agricultural people when the Spaniards first met them, and they are today. They had, and still have, domesticated animals. Hunting, which played a minor role in the early days, is nonexistent today. Fishing and gathering shellfish are today, as formerly, a means of subsistence.

Linguistically the Araucanians are an independent family, their language being classified as Araucanian. Dialectic differences occur from region to region; also, some words found in one region are foreign to other regions. Father Sigifredo, who spoke Araucanian well, remarked, "The various tribes of Araucanians, namely the Mapuche, the Huilliche, the Pewenche, and the Puelche—all call themselves Mapuche—speak nearly identical languages. It is said that these various peoples do not understand each other, but that is not true."

PRENATAL FACTORS

STERILITY AND FERTILITY

Of a childless couple the woman is believed to be the sterile person. Kind people say she is sick. In general she is not respected; in some

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842 groups she is despised. One informant concluded that a man, too, can [581] be sterile. "How else explain why a man who married five successive wives merely to have children had no child? Surely not all those women were sterile." Because of the shame attached to sterility, a [597] childless couple usually adopts a child—three couples were mentioned as having done so recently. Sterility is a cause for multiple wives.

[278] A medicinal preparation was known to produce sterility artificially and was given to a woman whose death had been feared at previous deliveries. Informants were unwilling to give further information about it except to say that specialists knew what to give. In all probability the ingredients used were not common knowledge. Non-Araucanian herbalists had been asked for medicinal preparations to bring about sterility. One man wanted it at once, since his baby had just been born, and he knew the medicine had to be taken by his wife immediately after delivery in order to be effective. In Coñaripe area a man asked for such a preparation for himself; he wanted no more children; his family was already large. Sterility was not produced by treatment with fumes.

According to one of Cooper's sources (1946, p. 733) impotency was produced in an unfaithful lover in revenge by the woman who was the unmarried mother of his child. She roasted the testicles of their infant in a heated pot, an act called koftun.

[787] Fertility, also, it is thought, can be produced by a medicinal preparation. An herbalist interviews the sterile woman and then goes home to dream. The medicinal preparation she dreams of is given to the woman. Following this the woman can expect to bear children; often the husband, too, takes the preparation. Several couples were named who had no children in spite of having taken the preparation.

An 80-year-old man, at the time of the present study, was the father of three children younger than 10; they were born to his third wife, a young woman. When the late cacique of Coñaripe area died, at about the age of 100, his youngest child was 6 years old.

[278] Artificial contraceptive devices are not known; medicinal ones are spoken of. "Specialists know what to give."

SIZE OF FAMILIES

595 In the days of multiple wives each wife bore her husband children, unless sterility prevented it. Often 10 or more years elapsed before a man married an additional woman. Generally the newly acquired wife was a young woman.

162 The number of children in families in areas under my observation

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847 different plant abortifacients. A non-Araucanian was called to assist two unmarried pregnant girls who were dying—their mother and an older sister had worked the abdomen of the girls, even to hitting them [848] with boards, to cause them to abort. "A family is very much embarrassed and deeply ashamed when a girl of the family gives birth out of wedlock," noted the informant. Spontaneous abortions were known to have occurred in instances where an expectant mother was overcome with fright.

SEX PREFERENCE AND SEX PREDICTION

●842 Boys have always been preferred to girls ("a man hates his wife if she gives him only girls") because a son will assist his father with work; he can be the father of a family; and he returns to his paternal home, bringing his bride with him. A girl, on the contrary, marries and goes away from home; she pays no more attention to her parents. "Girls do not seem to care how parents get along." During the days of attack by the Argentine army, boys were especially preferred; men were needed to protect the people. "In fact, we prayed to God in the ŋillatun [tribal religious ceremonial] to have boys born to us." However, a girl is in no way made to feel the fact that she is not a boy.

Informants were agreed that there is no preference regarding the first-born child, but that if children are all of one sex parents are disappointed. Two non-Araucanians had heard that, formerly, if the first-born was a girl, it was killed. This was not verified. A decoction taken by the woman was known to have been used effectively when boys were desired, but no informant knew its ingredients. If only girls are born to a family, the man procures the decoction from a specialist, usually an old man or an old woman. "A man who had only girls used to pass by our ruka every month on his way to a woman herbalist who lived across the river. He went there to get something which his wife drank so that they would have some boys. He used to come back with his bottle filled. That year they had a boy. He was so grateful that he gave the herbalist a sheep. The decoction had to be taken while the moon was gaining, and only the wife drank it. The man saw the woman mix well-beaten white of eggs with the sap of green seeds of limpia plata and the juice of several other plants which the woman did not let him see. Since I had only boys, I asked him if the woman could give me something to drink to have girls. He obviously never found out for he did not tell me. And I never tried to find out. I thought it best to be satisfied with what God sends."

It is believed, too, that if a man at any time cuts his fingernails

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with scissors, girls will be born to him; if with a knife, boys—a belief, non-Araucanians thought, taken from Chileans. This may have been known to schoolboys who warned a boy against using scissors in cutting his damaged fingernails. "A boy had better use a knife," one advised. The machi (sorcerer) had no power to produce sex. 842

In instances, it is believed, the sex of the unborn child can be predicted. If an expectant mother has much nausea, she is carrying a girl; also if her eyes have less color than usual, and her face is pale. If her complexion is fair and there is no change in the color of her eyes, she is carrying a boy. Also, if her last baby was a girl, and she has pain throughout her body during the present pregnancy, she is carrying a boy. If a man dreams of a falcon, his next child will be a boy. 787 842

REBIRTH

Araucanians have no belief in reincarnation. One old man had wondered about a child that he saw born with two teeth, but he had no explanation for it. Other informants had neither heard of nor seen a child born with teeth, with a patch of white hair, with snips out of the ears, or with scars—signs of rebirth among Chippewa or Arapaho (Hilger, 1951, p. 4, and 1952, pp. 5-6).[8] Beliefs regarding rebirth interested informants. "What kind of Indians can these be that they can be reborn!" 775 845

FOOD AND CONDUCT TABOOS

In Cofiaripe and Panguipulli areas prenatal food taboos were not known to exist. In one section of Alepúe area a pregnant woman must not eat jaiba (ranūm), a small sea animal that attaches itself to a rock, or she will have a difficult delivery, for "the child will attach itself tight to the uterus." In another section of the same area, to prevent similar subsequent effects, all men and women of childbearing age and all children must refrain from eating jaiba. Two women, probably 60 and 80 years of age, when young had been instructed by older women not to eat jaiba, but neither of them believed in its supposedly bad effects. Both mentioned women and their husbands who had eaten it, and the women, they knew, had each given birth to many children and all deliveries had been easy. 262 843

[8] All references to the Chippewa in the present study are found in Hilger, Sister M. Inez, Chippewa child life and its cultural background, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 146, 1951; and those to the Arapaho, in Arapaho child life and its cultural background, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 148, 1952.

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101 The Argentine Araucanians at present speak of themselves variously as manzaneros (people who live where apples grow), and/or as paisanos (indigenous people) from a specific area, such as Pilpil or Trumpul, or as people belonging to the jurisdiction of a cacique. All non-Araucanians are called huinka (non-Araucanian or Christian). Quoting Kolupan, "When we say we are manzaneros and you are huinka, it is the same as saying people are French or German or Swiss or English" (people who lived in the area and were known to him).

177 184 The Argentine Araucanians are decidedly more acculturated than are the Chilean Araucanians. The impact of Argentine Government regulations and impositions and the immediate contact with Argentine ways of living have resulted in changes similar to those inflicted on the American Indian through subjugation by the American Government and the Indians' contact with Whites within our own recent history.

[16] The largest number of Araucanians in Argentina—approximately 3,500 persons—live in territory Neuquén, the total population of which is 84,378, according to the Argentine census of 1947.

Culturally the Argentine Araucanians, in pre-Spanish days, were hunters; in post-Spanish days they raised sheep, cattle, and horses, and to a small degree were interested in horticulture and agriculture, which economic life has persisted until the present time. Linguistically [17] they belong to the Araucanian family, along with the Chilean Araucanians.

PRENATAL FACTORS

STERILITY AND FERTILITY

842 No informant knew the Araucanian words for sterility, fertility, or contraceptive devices. None could give any reason for sterility, and no way of producing fertility was known. Nor were contraceptive devices known. "We hear about them today. Those who have five or six children want to go to Argentine doctors to get something so they will have no more; they say these doctors know about this. I am certain that no Araucanian could give them information on it. The Araucanians wanted children; they considered many children a blessing." Ill health on the part of the woman was given as the only reason for not having many children. "My daughter had one child and regretted she had no more; but she was never well after that first child was born."

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SIZE OF FAMILIES

Childless couples were exceptions. Children in families of informants numbered 6 to 15, with boys predominating. An informant in her sixties told of large families of former years. She herself had given birth to 15 children. "There was always a baby on the way; soon after one was born, the next one was on the way." An 80-year-old woman had given birth to 15 children, all of whom reached maturity; 9 were living at the time of the present study. She added: "One couple I knew had 20 children, 18 boys and 2 girls, and all lived. That is the way it was formerly."

PRENATAL PERIOD

PERIOD OF GESTATION

As soon as a woman knew she was pregnant, she told her household about it, and from then on counted the months (moons) toward the birth of her child, which was expected in the ninth month. At three months the woman would say, "It is the third moon," and from then on considered the fetus a person, "like all other persons; that meant it had the spirit of a person. I do not know whether the child had a soul by that time, or not; no one can know that."

Some believe there is a flying snake that dislikes pregnant women, for "it flies about such a woman and whips her with its tail; it has never done so to me, but people say it happens."

Talking of pregnancy will not cause a woman to become pregnant, a belief held by the Arapaho (Hilger, 1952, pp. xii-xiii); but persons speaking of babies can expect someone in the kinship group to bring them a child to be reared, generally a grandchild.

SEX PREFERENCE

In all probability there was, in general, no sex preference. Some informants, however, spoke of preferences. A 60-year-old woman believed that formerly boys were preferred to girls; "or why were we always so glad when it was a boy that was born; people acted as if they were very happy about it. One can observe the same today." A 70-year-old man thought it made no difference; that boys and girls were equally welcome; the thing of importance was that the child came into the world and that the mother did not take sick. An 80-year-old woman would say, "Something is coming; we shall wait to see what it is." But she preferred girls, since a daughter helps her mother and is more of a companion to her than a son. A Trumpul

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842 informant knew that in the area in which she was reared, girls were preferred to boys, because girls enhanced the income of their families at marriage (referring to the bridal price). To which a woman listening in remarked, "On the other hand, a son enhanced his father's house not only with his bride but with all the gifts that both he and his bride received" (referring to the exchange of gifts at marriage).

SEX PREDICTION

842 787 No manner of producing sex was known, but there were ways of predicting the sex of an unborn child. A boy could be expected if the fetus lay high in the mother's body, and the veins on the back of her hands stood out prominently—"they say that her blood vessels are excited"—and her complexion was clear and rosy, that is, if she looked well in general. "People notice this and say, 'She is carrying a little man.'" If the woman's hips were broad, the veins on her hands flat, her face pale, and she gave the impression of not feeling well, persons said, "She is carrying a little woman."

The sex of the child to be born was also predicted from the first word spoken by the last child born. If the child says "mother," it will be a girl; if "father," a boy. "And this always comes true."

REBIRTH

775 845 There is no belief in reincarnation. "When a person dies, it means that that one is now gone forever." A child born with teeth is remarked about, but no one attaches any significance to it.

PRENATAL FOOD AND CONDUCT TABOOS

843 262 The father of an unborn child is in no way affected by food taboos or food prescriptions; his pregnant wife is. She must not eat grease, for it will cause her baby to have a running nose. Also, she must not eat brain of any animal—the effect of doing so was not known. [171] Eating speckled eggs did not cause a child to have freckles, something the Chippewa believed (Hilger, 1951, p. 7). The pregnant woman was to be provided with the food she craved, "like apples or chicha (alcoholized cider), or anything at all, except grease and brain." Not obtaining the craved foods might cause her to abort. Pregnant women are known to differ in food habits. "One woman will want to eat, another has no appetite; one can eat much and heavy foods, another cannot."

843 784 The father of an unborn child was not hampered by conduct taboos or prescriptions. His pregnant wife was warned not to fall or to lift

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754 598 618 613 182 582 are obliged to recognize a certain measure of common sentiment involved in traditional kinship etiquette. Furthermore, women standing in such relationship are generally married to members of the same sublineage, among whom we have already noted a high degree of solidarity and an absence of fear from supernatural harm by their closest kinsmen. Long common residence among in-married women is quite important in establishing bonds of friendship which inspire trust. In this regard, it seems significant that the younger generation of wives is suspicious of the older women, whereas among the older women themselves the relationships are generally rather amicable.

754 598 593 [618] Serious charges brought against his wife involves a man in entanglements over sorcery. Men tend to avoid such embroilments by deemphasizing the importance of the accusations made by members of the residential kingroup, and, to the extent that they involve their wives and kinswomen, explain the animosities and fears in psychological terms of maladjustment, in a manner which is rather sophisticated in itself or, perhaps, detracts from the supposed sophistication of such explanations. A man might become incensed at his wife for stirring up trouble among his kinsmen over unfounded fears. Consequently, with an eye to maintaining domestic harmony, wives tend not to bother their husbands with their fears of sorcery and the accusations that others have made, since the men almost inevitably show annoyance or anger. Instead, one finds that [626] there are whispering campaigns among the women against those who are suspected of being witches or of engaging their services. Husbands are only partly attuned to the situation since the charges are rarely made openly and tend not to come to the 593 public eye, since murder is not involved.

754 595 [832] [842] [178] Even though there are more accusations of sorcery among in-married women, there is rarely fear of murder or serious illness. Co-wives might work love magic against one another to gain preference with their husband, or one might seek to cause another to become sterile. This is no great problem in Mapucheland, however, because of the marked decline in polygynous households. In all cases, however, polygynous or otherwise, it is usually a matter of one woman gaining advantage over another.